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Public Disclosure Commission

# BEFORE THE WASHINGTON PUBLIC DISCLOSURE COMMISSION

IN RE THE PETITION OF	) DOCKET NO
RICHARD L. POPE, JR.	)
FOR THE REPEAL OF WAC 390-16-050 and 390-16-055	) PETITION FOR REPEAL
WAC 390-10-030 and 390-10-033	) OF AGENCY RULES

COMES NOW Petitioner RICHARD L. POPE, JR. and submits the following Petition for Repeal of Agency Rules to the Washington Public Disclosure Commission (PDC).

# **IDENTITY AND INTEREST OF PETITIONER**

Petitioner RICHARD L. POPE, JR. is an attorney practicing in Shoreline, Washington, who is actively involved in public and political affairs. Petitioner was the nominee of the Washington State Republican Party for the office of State Attorney General in 1996 and 2000. Petitioner has also been a candidate for various other public offices over the years.

In October 2000, Petitioner accepted a contribution of \$2,500.00 for his campaign for State Attorney General from the Washington State Republican Party (WSRP). The WSRP is a political action committee registered with the Federal Elections Commission (FEC) under FEC ID # # C-00031088. The WSRP did not file a Form C-5 with the PDC within ten days after making this contribution, as purportedly required by WAC 390-16-050 for political committees that are registered with the FEC. WAC 390-16-055 would purportedly require Petitioner to forfeit this contribution to the State of Washington, due to this purported noncompliance.

Petitioner believes that WAC 390-16-050 and WAC 390-16-055 are contrary to the statutory provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW, as well as being unconstitutional for many reasons.

#### AGENCY RULES FOR WHICH REPEAL IS PETITIONED

Petitioner seeks repeal of the following rules of the Public Disclosure Commission:

WAC 390-16-050 Forms for contributions and expenditures of out-of-state or federal political committees. The official form for the report of contributions and expenditures of political committees (a) registered with the Federal Election Commission, (b) not domiciled in Washington state, or (c) otherwise not required to report under RCW 42.17.040, 42.17.065, or 42.17.080 is designated "C-5," revised 6/02. Copies of this form are available at the Commission Office, Room 206, Evergreen Plaza Building, Olympia, Washington 98504-0908. Any paper attachments shall be on 8 1/2" x 11" white paper.

WAC 390-16-055 Forfeiture of contributions received from out-of-state or federal political committees. Each candidate or political committee receiving funds from a nonreporting committee (out-of-state or federal political committee) as described in RCW 42.17.090 (1)(1) shall determine whether such committee has complied with that subsection. If the nonreporting committee has not filed the required report under WAC 390-16-050, the funds shall not be forfeited or reportable as having been received if they are returned to the nonreporting committee within five business days after receipt. If an out-of-state or federal political committee fails to file a complete and timely report, the recipient shall forfeit the contribution to the state of Washington.

#### **REASONS FOR REQUESTED REPEAL OF AGENCY RULES**

It is important to start with the relevant text of RCW 42.17.090(1)(1), which these rules purport to enforce, and analyze this with the proper context. The overall theme of RCW 42.17.090 is the contents of the report that candidates and political committees must file.

#### 42.17.090. Contents of report

- (1) Each report required under RCW 42.17.080 (1) and (2) shall disclose the following: ....
- (1) Funds received from a political committee not otherwise required to report under this chapter (a "nonreporting committee"). Such funds shall be forfeited to the state of Washington unless the nonreporting committee has filed or within ten days following such receipt files with the commission a statement (i) Its name and address; (ii) the purposes of the nonreporting committee; (iii) the names, addresses, and titles of its officers or if it has no officers, the names, addresses, and titles of its responsible leaders; (iv) the name, office sought, and party affiliation of each candidate in the state of Washington whom the nonreporting committee is supporting, and, if such committee is supporting the entire ticket of any party, the name of the party; (v) the ballot proposition supported or opposed in the state of Washington, if any, and whether such committee is in favor of or opposed to such proposition; (vi) the name and address of each person residing in the state of Washington or corporation which has a place of business in the state of Washington who has made one or more contributions in the aggregate of more than twenty-five dollars to the nonreporting committee during the current calendar year, together with the

money value and date of such contributions; (vii) the name and address of each person in the state of Washington to whom an expenditure was made by the nonreporting committee on behalf of a candidate or political committee in the aggregate amount of more than fifty dollars, the amount, date, and purpose of such expenditure, and the total sum of such expenditures; (viii) such other information as the commission may prescribe by rule, in keeping with the policies and purposes of this chapter. A nonreporting committee incurring an obligation to file additional reports in a calendar year may satisfy the obligation by filing with the commission a letter providing updating or amending information.

Most notably, there is absolutely no definition of "nonreporting committee" contained anywhere in Chapter 42.17 RCW, other than the circular definition contained in RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) of "a political committee not otherwise required to report under this chapter". This definition is entirely unhelpful in providing any guidance as to why a political committee might not otherwise be required to report under the other provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW, but would be required to report only under RCW 42.17.090(1)(1).

An analysis of the other provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW reveals there can be no such thing as a "nonreporting political committee". If an entity meets the criteria for being a "political committee" in other sections of Chapter 42.17 RCW, then such entity must register as a "political committee" under RCW 42.17.040 and file periodic reports as required by RCW 42.17.080 and RCW 42.17.090. There is not any way for an entity to be a "political committee" and not be required to register and file these periodic reports.

RCW 42.17.020(33) defines a "political committee" as:

(33) "Political committee" means any person (except a candidate or an individual dealing with his or her own funds or property) having the expectation of receiving contributions or making expenditures in support of, or opposition to, any candidate or any ballot proposition.

RCW 42.17.020(30) defines a "person" to be:

(30) "Person" includes an individual, partnership, joint venture, public or private corporation, association, federal, state, or local governmental entity or agency however constituted, candidate, committee, political committee, political party, executive committee thereof, or any other organization or group of persons, however organized.

RCW 42.17.040(1) requires a "political committee" to file a statement of organization with the PDC:

# 42.17.040. Statement of organization by political committees

(1) Every political committee, within two weeks after its organization or, within two weeks after the date when it first has the expectation of receiving contributions or making expenditures in any election campaign, whichever is earlier, shall file a statement of organization with the commission and with the county auditor or elections officer of the county in which the candidate resides, or in the case of any other political committee, the county in which the treasurer resides. A political committee organized within the last three weeks before an election and having the expectation of receiving contributions or making expenditures during and for that election campaign shall file a statement of organization within three business days after its organization or when it first has the expectation of receiving contributions or making expenditures in the election campaign.

RCW 42.17.080 requires a "political committee" to file periodic reports of contributions and expenditures with the PDC, generally monthly, except more frequently around the times of primary and general elections. RCW 42.17.090 specifies the contents for these periodic reports.

The only exceptions to these general registration and reporting requirements are set forth under RCW 42.17.030:

# 42.17.030. Applicability--Exceptions

The provisions of this chapter relating to the financing of election campaigns shall apply in all election campaigns other than (1) for precinct committee officer; (2) for a federal elective office; and (3) for an office of a political subdivision of the state that does not encompass a whole county and that contains fewer than five thousand registered voters as of the date of the most recent general election in the subdivision, unless required by RCW 42.17.405(2) through (5).

Therefore, the only way that a "political committee" could possibly be exempt from the registration requirements of RCW 42.17.040(1) and the reporting requirements of RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090 is where the "political committee" falls entirely within the exceptions of RCW 42.17.030.

Since normally precinct committee officer campaigns are not the subject of significant campaign expenditures, and since there are very few small jurisidiction offices that would fall within the exceptions of RCW 42.17.030(3), the normal situation in which a "political committee" would be exempt from the registration and reporting requirements would be under RCW 42.17.030(2), where the only campaigns the committee is involved are for federal office.

Simply stated, the only way a "political committee" can be a "nonreporting committee" is where it only gives money for federal elective office campaigns. However, RCW 42.17.030(2) would exempt money given for federal elective office campaigns from all the requirements of Chapter 42.17 RCW. Therefore, money given by a "nonreporting committee" to be used in a campaign for federal elective office would not have to be reported under any provision of RCW 42.17.090, either by the "nonreporting committee" or by the receiving committee. Likewise, RCW 42.17.030(2) would exempt any such contribution for federal elective office campaigns from the purported forfeiture provisions of RCW 42.17.090(1)(1).

The plain meaning of the relevant portions of Chapter 42.17 RCW about "nonreporting committees" is as follows:

- Any "political committee" that donates money to Washington state candidates or **(1)** ballot measures is required to register under RCW 42.17.040, and file periodic reports under RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090, and therefore cannot be a "nonreporting committee" under RCW 42.17.090(1)(1).
- Any "political committee" that donates money only to federal election (2) campaigns, and not to any Washington state candidates or ballot measures would be exempted from Chapter 42.17 RCW pursuant to RCW 42.17.030(2), and would be a "nonreporting committee" under RCW 42.17.090(1)(1).
- The only practical way a "political committee" could be a "nonreporting (3) committee", as defined under RCW 42.17.090(1)(1), is if the "political committee" donated only to federal election campaigns, and was thereby fully exempted from all of Chapter 42.17 RCW by RCW 42.17.030(2).
- Since "nonreporting committees" are necessarily involved only with federal (4) election campaigns, and thereby completely exempted from Chapter 42.17 RCW pursuant to RCW 42.17.030(2), this same exemption applies to exempt such a "nonreporting committee" from the requirements set forth in RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) to make the reports specified therein.

- (5) In addition, by definition, a "nonreporting committee" can donate funds only to be used for federal election campaigns (otherwise it would not be exempted from registration and reporting under RCW 42.17.030(2)). So any money received by the WSRP or WSDCC (or any other political committee or candidate) from a "nonreporting committee" would necessarily be only for the purpose of a federal election campaign, and therefore be exempted entirely from the application of Chapter 42.17 RCW by RCW 42.17.030(2).
- (6) Therefore any money received from a "nonreporting committee" cannot be subject to any of the reporting and forfeiture requirements of RCW 42.17.090(1)(1), since, by definition, such money can only be for federal election campaigns and is entirely exempted from every provision of Chapter 42.17 RCW, pursuant to RCW 42.17.030(2).

The PDC has made some attempt to define by regulation what it considers to be a "nonreporting committee" under RCW 42.17.090(1)(1). However, these attempted definitions do not comport with the statutory definitions in any way. Moreover, if the incorrect definitions used by the PDC were followed, many of the various political committees presently reporting to the PDC, including the two largest state political parties, would be exempted from their normal registration and reporting requirements, since these committees are also registered with the FEC.

WAC 390-16-050 and 396-16-060 provide as follows:

WAC 390-16-050 Forms for contributions and expenditures of out-of-state or federal political committees. The official form for the report of contributions and expenditures of political committees (a) registered with the Federal Election Commission, (b) not domiciled in Washington state, or (c) otherwise not required to report under RCW 42.17.040, 42.17.065, or 42.17.080 is designated "C-5," revised 6/02. Copies of this form are available at the Commission Office, Room 206, Evergreen Plaza Building, Olympia, Washington 98504-0908. Any paper attachments shall be on 8 1/2" x 11" white paper.

WAC 390-16-055 Forfeiture of contributions received from out-of-state or federal political committees. Each candidate or political committee receiving funds from a nonreporting committee (out-of-state or federal political committee) as described in RCW 42.17.090 (1)(1) shall determine whether such committee has complied with that subsection. If the nonreporting committee has not filed the required report under WAC 390-16-050, the funds shall not be forfeited or reportable as having been received if they are returned to the nonreporting committee within five business days after receipt. If an out-of-state or federal political committee fails to file a complete and timely report, the recipient shall forfeit the contribution to the state of Washington.

Apparently, these regulations assume that a "political committee" is somehow exempted from the registration requirements of RCW 42.17.040 and the periodic reporting requirements of RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090 if it is either (a) registered with the Federal Election Commission or (b) not domiciled in Washington state. Neither one of these propositions is supported in any way by Chapter 42.17 RCW.

First of all, there is absolutely nothing in Chapter 42.17 RCW that exempts a "political committee" from the registration and reporting requirements if it is domiciled outside Washington state. The definitions of "political committee" in RCW 42.17.020(33) and "person" in RCW 42.17.020(30) do not contain any exclusion for out-of-state entities. Nor do the registration requirements of RCW 42.17.040, or the reporting requirements of RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090 exempt out-of-state entities in any way.

Therefore, if a "political committee" is domiciled outside the State of Washington, it is subject to all of the registration and reporting requirements of Chapter 42.17 RCW, just as if it was domiciled in Washington state.

(Obviously, an out-of-state "political committee" that does not give any money whatsoever to Washington state candidates or ballot measures would never become subject to Washington jurisdiction in the first place. The reporting and registration requirements of Chapter 42.17 RCW would obviously never become applicable to anybody, unless they spend money on Washington state candidates or elections.)

Similarly, there is absolutely nothing in Chapter 42.17 RCW that exempts a "political committee" from the registration and reporting requirements thereunder merely because the "political committee" has registered with the Federal Elections Commission. Nor is there anything in the Federal Elections Campaign Act, 2 U.S.C. §§ 431-455, that exempts a "political committee" from any state campaign laws merely because it has been registered with the FEC.

The applicable exemptions in both state and federal law have to do with whether the "political committee" is involved in campaigns only for federal elective office, as opposed to also being involved in state elective campaigns.

2 U.S.C. § 453 preempts state campaign finance laws for federal office campaigns:

# § 453. State laws affected

The provisions of this Act, and of rules prescribed under this Act, supersede and preempt any provision of State law with respect to election to Federal office.

Therefore, if a "political committee" is involved only with campaigns for federal office, no state can pass any law regulating such a "political committee" in any manner.

In addition, even if a "political committee" were also involved in state election campaigns, and therefore subject to state laws regarding campaign financing, 2 U.S.C. § 453 would prohibit state laws from regulating such a "political committee" with respect to involvement in federal election campaigns. Only federal law can regulate such involvement.

RCW 42.17.030(2), which completely exempts federal election campaigns from any of the provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW, not only has a similar effect to 2 U.S.C. § 453, but is indeed required by 2 U.S.C. § 453, in order to make sure Chapter 42.17 RCW does not apply to federal elections.

It must be noted that the Washington State Republican Party (WSRP) and Washington State Democratic Central Committee (WSDCC) are each registered with the FEC under the respective FEC ID #'s of C-00031088 and C-00114439. In addition to working to elect state office candidates of their respective parties, both the WSRP and WSDCC are actively concerned with federal election campaigns as well (especially for Senators and Representatives in the U.S. Congress from Washington State, and to promote each party's presidential candidates).

If the inappropriate PDC regulations set forth in WAC 390-16-050 and 390-16-055 were followed literally (instead of the actual relevant provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW), both the WSRP and WSDCC would thereby be exempted from the registration requirement of RCW 42.17.040 and the periodic reporting requirements of RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090, merely because the WSRP and WSDCC have been properly registered with the Federal Elections Commission. Presumably, other political committees involved in both state and federal election campaigns would also be exempted from PDC reporting under these same inappropriate rules.

WAC 390-16-050 and 390-16-055 are clearly contrary to the relevant provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW and should be repealed. Moreover, if these inappropriate rules actually were enforced as written, they would create havoc with PDC reporting requirements. The WSRP, WSDCC and various other political committees would be exempted from their normal reporting requirements, and instead have to file frequent reports under RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) every time they donated their funds to a Washington state candidate or political committee. And candidates and political committees would be extremely tempted to avoid all of the hassles of dealing with the PDC by the simple expedient of registration with the FEC. Even if there was no actual involvement in federal campaigns, FEC registration would lift the yoke of the PDC.

Prior to its amendment by Laws 1989, ch. 280, § 9, RCW 42.17.090(1)(k) (the predecessor to RCW 42.17.090(1)(l) prior to its renumbering, started out by reading:

Funds received from a political committee <u>not domiciled in Washington state</u> or not otherwise required to report under this chapter (a "nonreporting committee").

However, there was nothing else in Chapter 42.17 RCW, even prior to the 1989 amendments, that would have exempted a "political committee" from the registration and reporting requirements of Chapter 42.17 RCW, merely because it was domiciled out-of-state.

Thus, the prior version of former RCW 42.17.090(1)(k) merely imposed more onerous reporting requirements on out-of-state "political committees" (filing at least every ten days, instead of monthly), and the purported forfeiture required of recipients of out-of-state funds if these very stringent reporting requirements were not satisfied.

The 1989 Legislature very wisely removed the words "not domiciled in Washington state" from the purported forfeiture provisions of former RCW 42.17.090(1)(k). It is very difficult to see how such discrimination against out-of-state "political committees" – requiring them to report contributions and expenditures at least three times as frequently as "political committees" that are domiciled in Washington state, and imposing unique purported forfeiture requirements on recipients from funds from such out-of-state "political committees" – could possibly have survived scrutiny under constitutional equal protection guarantees.

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Washington State Attorney General Opinion 1993-3, concerning reporting requirements imposed on "political committees", makes a rather tortured and convoluted analysis of the reporting requirements, and comes up with a result contrary to Chapter 42.17 RCW.

AGO 1993-3 correctly points out that a "political committee" is not subject to the requirements of Chapter 42.17 RCW if it only spends money on election campaigns in other states, and does not spend money on any election campaigns in Washington state.

Similarly, AGO 1993-3 correctly points out that a "political committee" can spend money on election campaigns in Washington state, without being subject to the requirements of Chapter 42.17 RCW, if the only campaigns money is spent on within Washington state are campaigns solely for federal elective office, and not state office.

AGO 1993-3 also correctly points out that a "political committee" domiciled outside of Washington state becomes subject to the reporting requirements of Chapter 42.17 RCW in the event the "political committee" spends any money on any campaign for Washington state elective office or on any Washington state ballot measure. Such activities would establish the "minimum contacts" required under the due process clause for Washington to exercise jurisdiction over the activities of the out-of-state "political committee".

AGO 1993-3 departs from the correct reading of Chapter 42.17 RCW by determining an out-of-state "political committee" is somehow not required to register with the PDC under RCW 42.17.040, or file reports under RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090, in the event it becomes subject to Washington jurisdiction by spending money on Washington state candidates or ballot issues. AGO 1993-3 incorrectly determines that the only report such an out-of-state "political committee" is required to file is the special, frequent report required by RCW 42.17.090(1)(1).

AGO 1993-3 makes this conclusion based on a tortured analysis of the literal language of RCW 42.17.040(1):

# 42.17.040. Statement of organization by political committees

(1) Every political committee, within two weeks after its organization or, within two weeks after the date when it first has the expectation of receiving contributions or making expenditures in any election campaign, whichever is

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AGO 1993-3 assumes that a hypothetical out-of-state "political committee" does not solicit any contributions from, or any make expenditures in, during the first two weeks of its existence. Therefore, since no activities are undertaken relating to Washington state in the first two weeks of its existence, AGO 1993-3 assumes the out-of-state "political committee" is never required to ever register as a "political committee" under RCW 42.17.040(1), even after it becomes actively involved in Washington state elections.

AGO 1993-3 makes the incorrect conclusion that such out-of-state "political committee" would never be required to file any periodic reports under RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090, since it failed to do anything in its first two weeks to require registration under RCW 42.17.040(1).

RCW 42.17.080(1) provides as follows:

# 42.17.080. Reporting of contributions and expenditures--Inspection of accounts

(1) On the day the treasurer is designated, each candidate or political committee shall file with the commission and the county auditor or elections officer of the county in which the candidate resides, or in the case of a political committee, the county in which the treasurer resides, in addition to any statement of organization required under RCW 42.17.040 or 42.17.050, a report of all contributions received and expenditures made prior to that date, if any.

RCW 42.17.080(2) additionally requires that periodic reports be filed by a "political committee", basically to be done on a monthly basis. Such reports must be filed on the following dates each year: (1) January 10, (2) February 10, (3) March 10, (4) April 10, (5) May 10, (6) June 10, (7) July 10, (8) in August, 21 days before the primary, (9) in September, 7 days before the primary, (10) in October, 21 days before the general, (11) in October or November, 7 days before the general, and (12) December 10.

Apparently, AGO 1993-3 assumes that, since it would be possible for an out-of-state "political committee" to never be required to file a statement of organization under RCW 42.17.010(1), that such out-of-state "political committee" would never have to designate a treasurer, as provided for under RCW 42.17.050(1), at the time it is required to file its statement of organization. Therefore, such an out-of-state "political committee" never has to file the initial periodic report otherwise required by RCW 42.17.080(1).

This strained and tortured analysis of political committee registration and reporting requirements set forth in AGO 1993-3 is incorrect for a great number of reasons.

First of all, let us assume, for the sake of argument, that such an out-of-state "political committee" was not required to file a report under RCW 42.17.080(1), because it was somehow never required to file a statement of organization, due to fortuitously deciding not to engage in Washington state electoral politics during the first two weeks of its existence.

Such an out-of-state "political committee" would still be required to file all of its periodic reports under RCW 42.17.080(2), on the approximately monthly basis set forth therein, containing all of the information required by RCW 42.17.090. So even if such an out-of-state "political committee" escaped the initial registration requirements of RCW 42.17.040(1), and thereby did not have to file a report under RCW 42.17.080(1) at the time of initial registration, all of the periodic reports required under RCW 42.17.080(2) would have to be filed, on an approximately monthly basis.

So even if AGO 1993-3 was somehow correct in arguing that an out-of-state "political committee" which fails to engage in Washington state electoral politics during the first two weeks of its existence never has to register with the PDC under RCW 42.17.040(1), such "political committee" still has to file the normal periodic reports required by RCW 42.17.080(2). Therefore, such out-of-state "political committee" could not be considered otherwise exempt from reporting requirements and would not meet the definition of a "nonreporting committee" under RCW 42.17.090(1)(1).

AGO 1993-3 is just plain wrong in its conclusion that an out-of-state "political committee" which fails to engage in Washington state electoral politics during the first two weeks of its existence never has to register with the PDC under RCW 42.17.040(1). Such a result, especially with combined with the additional incorrect assumption that such out-of-state "political committee" is otherwise exempt from the normal reporting requirements of RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090, would completely subvert the purposes of Chapter 42.17 RCW.

If there is any doubt as to whether an out-of-state "political committee" must register under RCW 42.17.040(1), once it becomes active in Washington state elections, even if more than two weeks have passed since it was organized, then RCW 42.17.010 provides "the provisions of [Chapter 42.17 RCW] shall be liberally construed to promote complete disclosure of all information respecting the financing of political campaigns and lobbying". Liberal construction militates in favor of the requirement for registration.

[Chapter 42.17 RCW] is a strongly worded mandate. Its provisions are to be "liberally construed to promote complete disclosure of all information respecting the financing of political campaigns and lobbying, and the financial affairs of elected officials and candidates, and full access to public records.... " RCW 42.17.010; see <u>Dawson v. Daly</u>, 120 Wn.2d 782, 788, 845 P.2d 995 (1993).

Telford v. Thurston County Bd. of Com'rs, 95 Wn. App. 149, 158, 974 P.2d 886 (1999).

If the strained interpretation of RCW 42.17.040 and RCW 42.17.080 set forth in the AGO 1993-3 analysis were to be given effect, then almost all out-of-state "political committees" could be heavily involved in Washington state electoral politics, and generally be exempted from nearly all of the reporting requirements of Chapter 42.17 RCW.

The AGO 1993-3 analysis would never require such out-of-state "political committees" to file a statement of organization under RCW 42.17.040 or ever file any initial or periodic reports of contributions and expenditures under RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090. The only time that AGO 1993-3 would require an out-of-state "political committee" to file any sort of report would be under RCW 42.17.090(1)(1), when funds are donated to a Washington state candidate or to a Washington state "political committee".

Therefore, a "political committee" could free itself of most registration and reporting requirements under Chapter 42.17 RCW, so long as it initially organized itself outside of Washington state, and waited at least two weeks before spending money or soliciting funds in this state, so long as the "political committee" never donates any money to a Washington state candidate or political committee, but instead spends its money directly for political purposes.

Interestingly enough, the convoluted analysis of AGO 1993-3 would exempt both the WSRP and WSDCC from the registration requirements of RCW 42.17.040(1) and the reporting requirements of RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090. The WSRP and WSDCC were both established sometime during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, even prior to admission of Washington into the union as a state. Both state party organizations were therefore established long before Chapter 42.17 was adopted as Initiative 276 in the November 7, 1972 election.

AGO 1993-3 holds that if a "political committee" is not required to register during its first two weeks of existence, then it is never required to ever register under RCW 42.17.040(1). And AGO 1993-3 further extrapolates from this premise to conclude this manes that the "political committee" would never be required to do any reporting under RCW 42.17.080.

Chapter 42.17 RCW, including RCW 42.17.040, as adopted by Initiative 276, became effective on January 1, 1973, as provided in the effective date provisions of RCW 42.17.900.

Therefore, under the tortured analysis of AGO 1993-3, any "political committee" that had been in existence more than two weeks as of January 1, 1973 (the effective date of RCW 42.17.040) would never be required to register with the PDC, since it was obviously impossible for such "political committee" to have registered during its first two weeks of existence (since the PDC did not yet exist, and the law requiring registration had not yet become effective).

Obviously, the tortured analysis of AGO 1993-3 is not only wrong, it is downright ludicrous. Washington state voters certainly intended the existing major parties (and any other "political committees" in existence prior to the 1972 election) to be subject to the registration and reporting requirements of Chapter 42.17 RCW. But AGO 1993-3 would reach the exact opposite result with its analysis.

While the literal text of RCW 42.17.040(1) requires a "political committee" to register with the PDC during its first two weeks of existence, such registration timing was obviously not possible for "political committees" existing prior to the adoption of Chapter 42.17 RCW. Likewise, out-of-state "political committees" could not be required to register until they have become involved in Washington state political affairs.

Therefore, the effective date of Chapter 42.17 RCW and becoming involved in Washington politics would each have to be implied conditions that must be satisfied, in addition to the express language of RCW 42.17.040, to require registration of a "political committee".

AGO 1993-3 would forever exempt such a "political committee" from ever having to register or report. This analysis is wrong. Instead, such registration requirements should merely be delayed until after the effective date of Chapter 42.17 RCW or until after the organization first becomes actively involved in Washington state elections.

The correct interpretation of RCW 42.17.040(1), which would serve the mandate of RCW 42.17.010 for liberal construction and complete disclosure (not to mention common sense), would be that (1) "political committees" already in existence on January 1, 1973 would be required to register with the PDC within two weeks after the January 1, 1973 effective date, and (2) out-of-state "political committees" which have not previously received contributions or made expenditures in any Washington state election campaign, would be required to register with the PDC within two weeks after first receiving contributions or making expenditures in a Washington state election campaign.

This correct interpretation of the RCW 42.17.040(1) registration requirements eliminates an enormous loophole in the coverage of Chapter 42.17 RCW, as well as greatly reducing the situations in which a "political committee" would be considered to be a "nonreporting committee" and thereby subject to the provisions of RCW 42.17.090(1)(1).

The PDC has a tradition of interpreting other confusing and conflicting provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW in such a manner as it not be unduly arbitrary and in such a manner as will not unduly penalize candidates, "political committees", or other parties.

For example, "surplus funds" of a candidate are defined under RCW 42.17.020(41) to be monies left over after the election that are not need to pay off debts incurred before the election. RCW 42.17.095 would strictly prohibit such surplus funds from being used for any purposes, other than the very limited purposes allowed in that section. To spend any "surplus funds" for campaign related purposes, the candidate would purportedly be required to file a new candidate registration for the same office in the next election, as set forth under RCW 42.17.095(6).

This literal interpretation would prohibit a candidate from using so much as a penny of campaign funds for new expenses after the polls closed on election day, as any funds remaining would be "surplus funds" (to the extent, of course, not needed to pay debts incurred before the polls closed). The candidate would thus be barred from using campaign funds to send out thank you notes to volunteers and contributors, from keeping staff on payroll after election day, from renting a campaign headquarters after election day, or even holding an election night party.

However, other provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW are in conflict with these surplus funds provisions, and make them somewhat ambiguous. For example, RCW 42.17.080(2) provides for a campaign to file a final report when "there is no outstanding debt or obligation, the campaign fund is closed, and the campaign is concluded in all respects". This provision recognizes the possibility that a campaign might desire to "wrap-up" after the election (thank you letters, storing materials, maintaining databases, holding an election night party, etc.) by incurring new expenses, rather than merely paying old debt.

And RCW 42.17.125(2) allows for individuals to be reimbursed for "direct out-of-pocket election campaign and postelection campaign related expenses". This provision recognizes that campaign funds can be legitimately spent on new postelection campaign related expenses, instead of only paying off debts that were incurred prior to the election. And if individuals can be reimbursed for such expenses, the campaign surely should be allowed to pay these directly.

Therefore, while RCW 42.17.020(41) and RCW 42.17.095 would appear to prohibit campaign funds to be used for new expenses that are incurred after the general election, RCW 42.17.125(2) and RCW 42.17.080(2) would appear to recognize such postelection campaign

related expenses to be allowed. Based on this analysis, the PDC has never interpreted RCW 42.17.095 to prohibit a candidate from incurring new expenses after the general election that are reasonably related to the prior campaign, and has never enforced this law as strictly as written.

Similarly, the various provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW that would relate to the purported forfeiture provisions of RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) are, at best, extremely conflicting, and subject to many possible interpretations. It would be extremely unfair to the candidates or political committees who receive funds from other political committees to be required to forfeit them, simply because some argument can be made that the contributing political committee might somehow meet the mysterious and unclear definition of a "nonreporting committee" and did not file its own reports. However, the agency rules in question purport to require forfeiture.

Moreover, statutory construction requires that any ambiguity in a punitive statute be resolved against the State and in favor of the defendant. Seattle v. Green, 51 Wn.2d 871, 874, 322 P.2d 842 (1958); State v. Thompson, 38 Wn.2d 774, 779, 232 P.2d 87 (1951).

RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) is a punitive statute. Not only would candidates and political committees be subject to the normal civil fines for accepting contributions from a so-called "nonreporting committee", but would also be required to forfeit these same contributions to the state general fund if the so-called "nonreporting committee" failed to promptly file the special, frequent report as required. Indeed, RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) appears to be the only provision anywhere in Chapter 42.17 RCW that would require forfeiture of campaign funds to the state.

At best, Chapter 42.17 RCW is ambiguous as to exactly what a "nonreporting committee" would be. Moreover, it is ambiguous to to whether such a "nonreporting committee" could ever make any non-federal contributions that would be subject to Chapter 42.17 RCW in the first place. All such ambiguities must be resolved against the state and its request to forfeit funds from "nonreporting committees".

Moreover, RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) is unconstitutional, since it is vague as to what exactly would constitute a "nonreporting committee". That terms is not defined with any specificity by statute, and it is anyone's guess as to exactly what it means. Even the PDC, which should have

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some expertise in the matter, has been unable to define by regulation (much less by regulation complying with relevant statutes) what a "nonreporting committee" could be. People of ordinary intelligence have to guess at its meaning.

This conclusion is significant in the present case, not to determine whether the requirements of RCW 42.17.100(1) are per se contrary to First Amendment guarantees, but because a stricter vagueness standard is applicable in First Amendment areas. See State v. Galbreath, 69 Wn.2d 664, 667, 419 P.2d 800 (1966). As stated in Bare v. Gorton, supra 84 Wn.2d at 385, 526 P.2d at 382:

(First Amendment rights), it must be remembered, are 'delicate and vulnerable, as well as supremely precious in our society.' National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People v. Button, 371 U.S. 415, 433, 83 S.Ct. 328, 338, 9 L.Ed.2d 405 (1963). First Amendment rights are not to be abridged or even chilled by statutory vagueness. Baggett v. Bullitt, 377 U.S. 360, 84 S.Ct. 1316, 12 L.Ed.2d 377 (1964). Any legislative impingement on these rights must be drawn with precision and narrow specificity.

Keyishian v. Board of Regents, 385 U.S. 589, 87 S.Ct. 675, 17 L.Ed.2d 629 (1967).

The United States Supreme Court reiterated this principle in Buckley v. Valeo, supra, when, after mentioning the criminal, 'ordinary intelligence' standard for vagueness, it stated that '(w)here First Amendment rights are involved, an even 'greater degree of specificity' is required.' Buckley v. Valeo, supra at 96 S.Ct. 662, quoting Smith v. Goguen, 415 U.S. 566, 573, 94 S.Ct. 1242, 39 L.Ed.2d 605 (1974)

State ex rel. Public Disclosure Commission v. Rains, 87 Wn.2d 626, 630, 555 P.2d 1368 (1976).

The Rains decision invalidated a prior version of RCW 42.17.100, relating to reporting independent expenditures, because the statute failed to specify a time limit for filing these reports. The statute therefore was vague and stricken as unconstitutional. Even though the PDC adopted a regulation clearly specifying a time limit for filing the reports, this could not cure the problem with vagueness.

RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) is unconstitutionally vague, since nothing in RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) or elsewhere in Chapter 42.17 RCW defines with any precision the circumstances under which a "political committee" would not otherwise be required to file reports under Chapter 42.17 RCW, and would therefore meet the definition of "nonreporting committee".

Under Rains, the PDC lacks any authority to adopt regulations, no matter how clear these regulations are, to cure problems with vague statutes. And even assuming, for the sake of argument, the PDC could adopt regulations to cure the vague definition of "nonreporting committee", the actual regulations adopted by the PDC in WAC 390-16-050 and 396-16-060 do not provide any clear guidance as to when a "political committee" would not otherwise be required to report, nor do they even adhere to the statutory language.

Finally, application of RCW 42.17.090(1)(l) would be in violate of the equal protection clauses of the federal and state constitutions, even if RCW 42.17.090(1)(l) could be otherwise interpreted to actually require forfeitures.

RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) makes two crucial distinctions between a (normal) "political committee" that is otherwise required to file reports under Chapter 42.17 RCW, and a "nonreporting committee" that, for whatever reason, is not otherwise be required to report under Chapter 42.17 RCW:

# (1) <u>Forfeiture provisions</u>

A candidate or political committee that receives funds from a "nonreporting committee" must forfeit these funds to the state general fund, if the "nonreporting committee" does not file a special report with the PDC concerning the contribution within ten days of making the contribution.

The candidate or political committee receiving funds from the "nonreporting committee" must still forfeit these funds, even if the receiving candidate or political committee timely files its own proper reports with the PDC.

By contrast, a candidate or political committee that receives funds from a "normal" political committee, that is otherwise required to file reports with the PDC, will never forfeit these contributions to the state general fund, or otherwise be penalized in any way, even if the political committee making such contributions never files any reports with the PDC whatsoever, and even if the contributing committee never bothers to register at all with the PDC.

Moreover, a candidate or political committee that receives funds from a "normal" political committee will not be required to forfeit any contributions to the state general fund, even if the receiving candidate or political committee also does not bother to file its own reports with the PDC. While the receiving candidate or committee can be fined for nonreporting, forfeiture is not an option.

#### (2) Frequency of Reporting

A normal "political committee", that is otherwise required to file reports with the PDC, must file reports of contributions and expenditures twelve times per year (an average of once per month) under RCW 42.17.080(2) on the following dates: (1) January 10, (2) February 10, (3) March 10, (4) April 10, (5) May 10, (6) June 10, (7) July 10, (8) in August, 21 days before the primary, (9) in September, 7 days before the primary, (10) in October, 21 days before the general, (11) in October or November, 7 days before the general, and (12) December 10.

Except for the pre-primary and pre-general reports, the normal "political committee" would file these reports ten days after the close of the previous month. The pre-primary and pregeneral reports are filed either seven days or one day after the close of those reporting periods.

By contrast, the so-called "nonreporting committee", that is somehow not otherwise required to file reports with the PDC, must file these same reports with a far greater frequency under RCW 42.17.090(1)(1), than would be required under RCW 42.17.080(2), in order to avoid the spectre of the candidates and political committees to which it donates funds being required to forfeit these funds to the state.

As RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) purports to require recipients to forfeit funds if the "nonreporting committee" does not file the required report with the PDC within ten days of making the contribution, such "nonreporting committee" must file reports with the PDC at least every ten days, if it wishes its contributions not to have to be forfeited.

In fact, if it there is a day or more of lag time that accrues between making a contribution and being able to transmit the report to the PDC, such a "nonreporting committee" may in fact be required to file such reports with the PDC somewhat more frequently than every 10 days.

At the very minimum, such a so-called "nonreporting committee" would be required to file the same reports with the PDC at least three times as frequently as a "normal" political committee otherwise required to file PDC reports.

#### **Equal Protection Analysis**

Even when statutes do not affect a fundamental rights or create suspect classifications, they must be evaluated on a rational basis standard to survive an equal protection challenge. City of Richland v. Michel, 89 Wn. App. 764, 950 P.2d 10 (1998). Rational basis means that a statute is rationally related to some legitimate state interest. Seeley v. State, 132 Wn.2d 776, 940 P.2d 604 (1997).

Political contribution and expenditure laws obviously involve fundamental constitutional rights, and are subject to a much higher level of scrutiny that the rational basis test. But the distinctions set up by RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) fail to meet even the lenient rational basis test.

First of all, there is absolutely no rational reason why a "nonreporting committee" not otherwise required to file reports with the PDC should be required to report its contributions and expenditures three times more frequently than a political committee otherwise required to report.

At most, a so-called "nonreporting committee" should be required to report contributions and expenditures at the same intervals of approximately one month under RCW 42.17.080(2) for "normal" political committees that are generally required to file reports with the PDC.

Certainly, it could be even rational to require these so-called "nonreporting committees" to file reports of their contributions and expenditures with the PDC with less frequency than "normal" political committees.

But by no stretch of the imagination could it possibly be considered rational to require a so-called "nonreporting committee" to file reports more frequently than a "normal" political committee, much less three times as frequently.

Even more importantly, the forfeiture provisions set forth in RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) are even more irrational. How can it possibly be rational to require a recipient of funds from a so-called "nonreporting committee" to forfeit these funds to the state general fund, when such

"nonreporting committee" fails to timely file a required report of its financial affairs timely with the PDC?

Recipients of funds from "normal" political committees that are otherwise required to file reports with the PDC are never required to forfeit those contributions to the state, even if the "normal" political committee never fails to follow its requirement to make reports to the PDC.

This drastic distinction in treatment of contributions from so-called "nonreporting committees" and "normal" political committees is not rational and does not serve any legitimate state interest whatsoever.

Obviously, the State of Washington has an interest in making sure political contributions and expenditures are accurately reported. But this interest is not served by requiring innocent recipients of funds from "nonreporting committees" to forfeit their funds to the state when the contributor fails to timely file a required report with the PDC, while not imposing any sanction or consequences whatsoever on the innocent recipient of funds from a normal political committee failing to file similar PDC reports.

This drastic distinction becomes even more irrational when a recipient of funds from a normal political committee will only be fined for failing to file its own PDC reports, while the recipient of funds from a so-called "nonreporting committee" forfeits the entire contribution to the state if the donor does not timely file, even if recipient files every one of its own required reports timely with the PDC.

However, a much higher standard of scrutiny applies here, since political campaigns involve a fundamental constitutional right. For these drastic distinctions to survive an equal protection challenge, the state must overcome strict scrutiny and demonstrate these distinctions are narrowly tailored to serve overriding state interests:

Restrictions on expenditures, on the other hand, "preclude [] most associations from effectively amplifying the voice of their adherents, the original basis for the recognition of First Amendment protection of the freedom of association." *Id.* (citing NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449, 460, 78 S. Ct. 1163, 2 L. Ed. 2d 1488 (1958)). The Court said that FECA's "constraints on the ability of independent associations and candidate campaign organizations to expend resources on political expression 'is simultaneously an interference with the

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freedom of [their] adherents[.]' "Buckley, 424 U.S. at 22 (quoting Sweeny v. New Hampshire, 354 U.S. 234, 250, 77 S. Ct. 1203, 1212, 1 L. Ed. 2d 1311 (1957)).

The Court concluded that while both FECA's contribution and expenditure limitations implicate fundamental First Amendment interests, the expenditure limitations "impose significantly more severe restrictions on protected freedoms of political expression and association than do its limitations on financial contributions." Buckley, 424 U.S. at 23. The Court said that the primary First Amendment problem with the limitations on contributions was the restriction on the right of freedom of political association. Id. at 24. Although this is a basic constitutional freedom "'closely allied to freedom of speech'" and lying at the "'foundation of a free society[,]' " and thus subject to "the closest scrutiny[,]" the Court said that " [n]either the right to associate nor the right to participate in political activities is absolute.' " Id. at 25 (quoting Shelton v. Tucker, 364 U.S. 479, 486, 81 S. Ct. 247, 5 L. Ed. 2d 231 (1960) and NAACP. 357 U.S. at 460 and United States Civil Serv. Comm'n v. National Ass'n of Letter Carriers, 413 U.S. 548, 567, 93 S. Ct. 2880, 37 L. Ed. 2d 796 (1973)). The Court continued: "Even a ' "significant interference" with protected rights of political association' may be sustained if the State demonstrates a sufficiently important interest and employs means closely drawn to avoid unnecessary abridgment of associational freedoms." Id. at 25 (quoting Cousins v. Wigoda, 419 U.S. 477, 95 S. Ct. 541, 42 L. Ed. 2d 595 (1975)).

However, as to expenditures, which involve core political speech, strict scrutiny applies. <u>Buckley</u>, 424 U.S. at 44-45; see <u>McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Comm'n</u>, 514 U.S. 334, 347, 115 S. Ct. 1511, 131 L. Ed. 2d 426 (1995) ("[w]hen a law burdens core political speech, we apply 'exacting scrutiny,' and we uphold the restriction only if it is narrowly tailored to serve an overriding state interest"). This standard applies to political speech concerning election issues as well as to political speech concerning candidates for office, as both are core political speech.

Washington St. Republican Party v. Washington St. Public Disclosure Com'n, 141 Wn.2d 245, 256-57, 4 P.3d 808 (2000).

There is obviously no way for these irrational distinctions to survive the much more exacting strict scrutiny standard that applies in political matters. If RCW 42.17.090(1)(1) is interpreted to require forfeiture of contributions, such interpretation would fail the constitutional test of equal protection, regardless of whether the deferential rational basis test is employed, or the exacting strict scrutiny test applicable to fundamental rights is applied. WAC 390-16-050 and WAC 396-16-055, which purport to require such forfeitures, are likewise unconstitutional.

The PDC should simply repeal WAC 390-16-050 and WAC 396-16-055. As pointed out in the statutory analysis on Pages 2 to 6 above, there is simply no possible way that a "political committee" can make a contribution for Washington state elective office or ballot measures, and

not be required to register as a "political committee" under RCW 42.17.040. The PDC should require any political committees which are currently using the inappropriate Form C-5 to report contributions to Washington state candidates and PDC-registered political committees to instead register with the PDC as a "political committee" under RCW 42.17.040 and file periodic reports of contributions and expenditures under RCW 42.17.080 and RCW 42.17.090.

Perhaps the PDC feels that the normal reporting requirements are too burdensome on out-of-state political committees with only modest involvement in Washington state politics, or on political committees that are primary interested in federal elections. Literal application of all of the reporting requirements can be extremely burdensome, for sure. Obviously, it would not be a major problem for political committees currently reporting on Forms C-5, as purportedly required by WAC 390-16-050, to report substantially the same information about their political committees on a Form C-1PC registration in accordance with RCW 42.17.040.

The major difference between the information required to be reported pursuant to RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090, and the information purportedly required to be reported on Form C-5 under WAC 390-16-050, is that the former includes all contributions received and expenditures made by the political committee (regardless of from where received or to where made), and the latter only includes contributions received from and expenses made in the State of Washington.

Perhaps a so-called out-of-state political committee may deem it overly burdensome to report each contribution received from anywhere in the nation over \$25.00, and every expense of over \$50.00 incurred anywhere in the nation, if the political committee has only a modest level of involvement in Washington state politics. The proper remedy is RCW 42.17.370(10), which allows the PDC to suspend normal reporting requirements, after application and hearing, if a candidate, political committee, office holder, lobbyist, or other party required to report with the PDC establishes that the normal reporting requirements work manifestly unreasonable hardship. The PDC has adopted rules under Chapter 390-28 WAC to efficiently conduct such hearings.

Aside from the forfeiture implications when read in conjunction with WAC 390-16-055, WAC 390-16-050 has the effect of exempting certain political committees, namely committees

domiciled outside the state of Washington or registered with the FEC, from the normal reporting requirements under RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090. WAC 390-16-050 effectively requires such committees to file reports only when they make contributions to candidates or committees in the state of Washington, rather than doing so approximately monthly as normally required by RCW 42.17.080(2). WAC 390-16-050 also exempts such committees from having to report any contributions received from or expenditures made outside of the state of Washington.

Obviously, it could be understandable that the PDC, after application and hearing, might decide to modify normal reporting requirements of certain out-of-state political committees to require reporting only after activity is conducted in Washington, rather than every month, and to only report Washington contributions and expenditures. For example, the Republican and Democratic National Committees receive many thousands of separate contributions, and make many thousands of separate expenditures, only a small portion of which is from the state of Washington. It might be appropriate to limit their reporting to only their Washington activity.

RCW 42.17.370(10) is extremely clear that the PDC cannot modify the reporting requirements for anybody, except after application and hearing. Such modifications can only be made upon showing clear and convincing proof of manifestly unreasonable hardship, and can be only to the extent necessary to substantially relieve the hardship. The initial application must be heard through a formal hearing, and not by brief adjudicative proceeding, and any renewal must also be by formal hearing, if more than three years has passed since conducting a formal hearing. Any citizen may contest the propriety of a PDC order modifying the reporting requirements by filing suit in Thurston County Superior Court within one year after the PDC entry of such order.

WAC 390-16-050 therefore violates RCW 42.17.370(10), since it purports to modify the reporting requirements for certain political committees that would otherwise be required to file complete periodic reports under RCW 42.17.080 and 42.17.090, by doing so by administrative regulation automatically applicable to political committees domiciled outside of the state of Washington or registered with the FEC, instead of through an individualized formal hearing process initiated by application of an aggrieved committee, with the opportunity for an appeal.

WAC 396-16-055 must be repealed in its entirety, since there are not any permissible circumstances under which recipients of funds from any so-called "nonreporting committee" could be required to forfeit these contributions to the state of Washington. The plain statutory analysis would show that the only actual type of "nonreporting committee" would be one that is interested only in federal elections, and contributions related to federal elections would entirely be exempted from the coverage of Chapter 42.17 RCW under both RCW 42.17.030(2) and 2 U.S.C. § 453. Even if the provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW could be construed to require that a forfeiture of campaign contributions take place under certain circumstances, this result would violate constitutional guarantees against vagueness and for equal protection of the laws.

Since WAC 396-16-050 and WAC 396-16-055 each violate the relevant provisions of Chapter 42.17 RCW, as well as constitutional guarantees against vagueness and for equal protection of the laws, they must be repealed. Since reporting requirements cannot be modified by PDC regulation, there is no reason for amending WAC 396-16-050 to contain any different provisions modifying reporting requirements for certain political committees. Since forfeiture of campaign contributions is not permissible under either statutory or constitutional analysis, there is no basis to retain the forfeiture provisions of WAC 396-16-055 using different language.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Petitioner would respectfully request the PDC to suspend any existing enforcement proceedings concerning WAC 396-16-050 and WAC 396-16-055, initiate rule-making proceedings in accordance with Chapter 34.05 RCW, and repeal these rules in their entirety.

Respectfully submitted on August 4, 2002.

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